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Mother-in-law and Father-in-law Taboo

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

Puberty Customs

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 ● 881 785 787

Waxop' inixjiwina	hina'djire na"dje'je	'vahadjex.
Spirits	am I likely to be blessed?	that is why I am praying.

[539 782]

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

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CHAPTER VII

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION[1]

871 The Winnebago seem to have had a more or less formal system of instruction. This consisted of a series of precepts on different aspects of life, such as the duty of fasting, of being a warrior, of behavior to one's parents and relatives, how to treat one's wife and women in general, how to bring up children, how to behave to strangers, etc. These formal teachings were called *hak'i'ku*[2], which means "precepts" or "teachings." Doubtless those obtained do not constitute all the different types existing, but they seem fairly representative.

My Father's Teaching to His Sons and Daughters

System of Instruction to Son

867 776 787 My son, when you grow up you should see to it that you are of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you can begin to be of any aid to them, and that is to fast. So, my son, see to it that you fast. Our grandfather, the fire, who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings.[3] Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his blessings.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs, bless you. See to it that they pity you.[4] Some day when you go on the warpath their blessings will enable you to have specific foreknowledge of all that will happen to you on that occasion. This will likewise enable you to accomplish what you desire without the danger of anything interfering with your plans. Without the slightest trouble you will then be able to obtain the prizes of war. Without any trouble

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[1] This chapter was originally intended for special publication and the notes prepared for it then have been retained.

[2] The fire (*p'ex*) is regarded as a spirit by the Winnebago. As a spirit he possesses many gifts that are of use to human beings in their sojourn on earth, and in order to obtain them, mortals must make offerings of tobacco to him. He may also appear to them during their fastings and bless them with a number of powers. In addition to his other powers, it is believed that he is the messenger of Earthmaker and the other spirits and that he transmits both the messages, as well as the offerings that mortals make to them, by means of the smoke that rises upward. The old man speaks of the fire first, because being always around them it is a comparatively easy task to make offerings to it.

[3] This is the regular expression used for blessing. The idea seems to be that through fasting and crying you are to put yourself in a "pitiable" condition and that then the spirits, seeing your state, will pity you and grant you what you have asked. The word "grandfathers" is used in the sense of ancestral spirits, the thunderbirds, who are regarded as the dispensers of war power, not only by members of this clan but by all Winnebago.

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you will be able to obtain these and in addition glory and the war honors.[4] If, in truth, you thirst yourself to death,[5] our grandfathers who are in control of wars — to whom all the war powers that exist in this world belong — they will assuredly bless you.

My son, if you do not wear out your feet through ceaseless activity (in fasting), if you do not blacken your face for fasting, it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon yourself. Blessings are not obtained through mere desire alone; they are not obtained without making the proper sacrifices or without putting yourself time and again in proper mental condition. Indeed, my son, they are not to be obtained without effort on your part. So see to it that, of all those spirits whom Earthmaker created, one at least has pity upon you and blesses you. Whatever such a spirit says to you that will unquestionably happen.

Now, my son, if you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will not amount to anything in the estimation of your fellowmen. They will show you little respect. Perhaps they will make fun of you.

Do not die in the village. It is not good to die there. Whenever a person is grown up that is what is told him. Nor is it good, my son, to let women journey ahead of you from amidst the village. It is not good thus to let women die before you.[6] Therefore, in order to prevent this, our ancestors encouraged one another to fast. Some day you will travel in a difficult road; there will be some crisis in your life, and then when it is too late you will begin to reproach yourself for not having fasted at the proper time. So that you may not have occasion to blame yourself at such a time I counsel you to fast. If you do not obtain a blessing when the other women are dividing the war prizes brought home from the warpath by their brothers, your sisters will stand aside envying them. If, however, you are blessed by the spirits in control of war power, and if you then return victorious, how proud your sisters will be to receive the war honors and to wear them around their necks and participate with them in the victory dance! And in this way your sisters likewise will be strengthened by your war deeds. You will keep well, in health.

My son, it will indeed be good if you obtain war powers, but our ancestors say it is difficult. Especially difficult is it to be leader on

[4] There are four war honors, the highest going to the Indian who first touches a dead enemy, the second belonging to the one who kills him, and the last two to those who touch him second and third. The war prize generally consisted of necklaces of wampum which were given to those who had obtained the first war honors. The victor also would be given the privilege of first smoking the pipe on his return to his home. The price of the wampum necklace was always given by the victor to his elder sisters.

[5] That is, fast.

[6] That is, obtain war power so that you can go on the warpath and prevent yourself from dying in the village or have women die before you.

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867 787 the warpath.' So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 627] be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 867 776 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[2] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[3] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[4] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 554 My son, if you cast off dress[5] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622] [1] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your recklessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter persists in so doing, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and starts out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been plunged in mourning by the criminal inattentiveness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776 [2] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Weights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Weights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 822 [3] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

735 [4] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

[5] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people

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limb.[12] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil an animal with a head [13] you will always be able to eat. 867 554

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[14] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise. 867 765 554

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle. 867 721 775

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry. 867 785 787

[12] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body." [535]

[13] That is, whenever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors [537]

[14] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 262 765 775

[15] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of the earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible. 774 775

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867 593 562 776 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early. Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 574 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house, no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 888 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that [778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[18] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 773 776 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return. [276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the [782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[18] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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867 773 776

powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus.

867 756

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people," I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power!

867 787 756

My son, if you are not able to fast,[2] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines

[733 735]

[425]

[1] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spirits some water upon the affected person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to.

[2] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left: the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines.

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867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine 789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never 756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the 789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 224] race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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867 754
If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose.

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

867 584 832
If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her.

867 832
If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way.

867 789
Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests.

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

867 789 787
Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of these things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps.

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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement."

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has 577 many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover* the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become 525 rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[466] [402] * This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling so found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

* That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman." Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat." Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of! A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[2]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[1] He may mean a buffalo, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[2] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal offered at the Winter Feast. These next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance.

[3] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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867 My son, whenever people go on the warpath go along with them.
721 It is good to die on the warpath. You may perhaps say so, because you are unhappy that your wife has left you. My son, not for such reasons, however, must you go on the warpath. You will be merely throwing away a human life. If you want to go on the warpath, do so because you feel that you are courageous enough, not because you are unhappy at the loss of your wife. If you go on the warpath you will enjoy yourself. Do not go, however, unless you have fasted,
[785] and unless you have fasted for that particular warpath. If you have not fasted and attempt nevertheless to go on the warpath, a bullet will surely seek you out and kill you. This is what will happen to you if you do not fast.

[593 If you exert yourself in fasting you will assuredly perform some
604] brave war exploit. You must tell your sisters and sister's children
605 and your mother's sisters all about your exploit. Remember, also, that the keepers of the war-bundles can give you good advice in all that pertains to war. For their deeds they will be given a good dish of meat.[a] This they will give you to eat.

Of such things did my ancestors speak, and I would wish you to do as they did. That is why I am telling you all these things. I myself never asked for any of this instruction, but my father did. All human beings ought to ask for it. Never let anybody be in a position to puzzle you in regard to what is right. Ask for this instruction, my son, for it is not an ordinary thing. In the olden
867 times if a person loved his child very much, he would only give him instruction after he had begun fasting all day for the first time. When a young boy has just matured, those who have been preaching
[881] to him always ask him one question, namely, whether he had begun to fast. And this the young boy must always answer truthfully, for if he has begun his fast the instruction would stop. The old men do not preach to men, but only to boys.

881 (What follows is apparently an illustration of how a young man
887 asks his instructor for information of how to conduct himself in life.)
867 The young man will go to an old man and say, "Grandfather, I would like to know how I am to conduct myself in life. Bless me and if you can really give me any information, do so." Then the old man was very thankful and said, "It is good; you speak correctly." Now the one who was asking something of the old man had taken very good care of the old man's body and had led a good life. He had no scars of any kind; that is, he had never done anything shameful. The young man brought all sorts of food and placed it in the lodge of the old man. Then he also brought him a fine horse. Only then did he ask him again about the life that his ancestors had led, and what kind of a life he ought to live. He asked

[a] I. e., you will be given a position at the Winter Feast and offered some of the choice pieces of meat.

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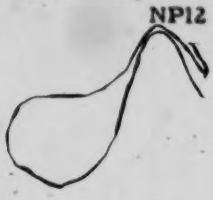

him what the old people do when they give a child a name, and what they say. All these things the old man told him. "It is good," he said, "for you to know these things so that if anyone comes to you and asks you for information you will be able to tell them something and will not have to behave like a fool. If you are asked to give a little child a name, this little child will really be a means of increasing your power. That is why you ought to give a feast for it and smoke the child's tobacco. You must also give the child a name for his dog. Give him the name Yellow-Tree for a male dog. The name Yellow-Tree is given for the following reason. When the Thunderbirds strike at a tree it looks yellow. Just as leaves wither so do trees wither when the Thunderbirds strike them. They then begin to rot and become very much discolored. That is why they give a dog this name. If you ever have to give a dog-name for a female child call it She-Who-Stays-In-Her-Own-Place. This is all that I wish to tell you."

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO DAUGHTER

This is the way the old men used to speak to the little girls:

My daughter, as you go along the path of life, always listen to your parents. Do not permit your mother to work. Attend to your father's wants. All the work in the house belongs to you. Never be idle. Chop the wood, carry it home, look after the vegetables and gather them, and cook the food. When in the spring of the year you move back to your permanent settlements, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy. Earthmaker created you for these tasks.

When you have your menses, do not ask those in your lodge to give you any food, but leave the lodge and fast and do not begin eating again until you return to your own lodge. Thus will you help yourself. If you always fast, when you marry, even if your husband had amounted to nothing before, he will become an excellent hunter. It will be on account of your fasting that he will have changed so much. You will never fail in anything and you will always be well and happy. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you—that is, if you do not fast—when you marry he will become very weak, and this will be due to you. Finally he will get very sick.

My daughter, do not use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine on his head he will become very weak and will not amount to anything. It may be that you do not want to have your husband leave you and this may induce you to use medicine to keep him. Do not do that, however, for it is not good. You will be ruining a man. It is the same as killing him. Do not do it, for it is forbidden. If you marry a man and you want to be certain of always retaining him, work for him. With work you will always

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867 be able to retain your hold on men. If you do your work to the
593 satisfaction of your husband, he will never leave you. I say again,
832 it is not proper to use medicine. Above all, do not use medicine until you have passed your youth. You will otherwise merely make yourself weak. You will lead a weak life. It may even happen that you will cause yourself to become foolish.

[581] Do not use a medicine in order to marry. If you marry remain faithful to your husband. Do not act as though you are married to a number of men at the same time. Lead a chaste life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you and you are unfaithful to your
[626] husband, all the men will jeer at you. They will say whatever they wish to (and no one will interfere). Every man will treat you as though he were on the "joking relationship" with you. If you do not listen to me, therefore, you will injure yourself.

867 Thus the old people used to talk to one another. Thus they would
584 warn one another against certain actions. They used to instruct the young girls as they grew up (just as I am doing to you now). That is why I am telling of these things now.

My daughter, as you grow older and grow up to be a young woman, the young men will begin to court you. Never strike a man, my
[683] daughter. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much, tell him gently to go away. If you do not do this and instead strike him, remember that it frequently happens that men know of medicines; or if they themselves have none they may know from whom to
[754] get them. If you make a man feel bad by striking him, he may use this medicine and cause you to run away with him and become a bad woman. It is for this reason that the old men used to warn the young girls not to strike the men who are courting them, but whom they dislike. Pray with all your heart that you do not become such a woman.

867 Do not act haughtily to your husband. Whatever he tells you
593 to do, do it. Kindness will be returned to you if you obey your husband, for he will treat you in the same manner.

858 If you ever have a child, do not strike it. In the olden times when a child misbehaved the parents did not strike it, but they made it fast. When a child gets hungry, he will soon see the error of his ways. If you hit a child, you will be merely knocking the
[861] wickedness into him. Women should likewise never scold the children because children are merely made wicked by scoldings. If your husband scolds the children, do not take their part, for that will merely make them bad. In the same way, if a stranger makes your children cry, do not say anything to the stranger in the presence of the children, nor take their part in his presence. If you wish to prevent a stranger from scolding your children, keep them home and teach them how to behave by setting them a good example. Do not imagine that you do the best for your children by

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taking their part, or that you love them if you talk merely about loving them. Show them that you love them by your actions. Let them see that you are generous with donations. In such actions they will see your good work and then they will be able to judge for themselves whether your actions equal your words. 867 593 858

My daughter, do not show your love for other children so that strangers notice it. You may, of course, love other children, but love them with a different love from that which you bestow on your own children. The children of other people are different from your own children, and if you were to take them to some other place after you had been lavishing so much love upon them they would not act as your children would under the same circumstances. You can always depend upon your own children. They are of your own body. Love them, therefore. This is what our ancestors taught us to do.

If a wife has no real interest in her husband's welfare and possessions she will be to him no more than any other woman, and the world will ridicule her. If, on the other hand, you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, your parents will leave you. Let your husband likewise take care of your parents, for they depend on him. Your parents were instrumental in getting you your husband, so remember that they expect some recompense for it, as likewise for the fact that they raised you. 867 593

My daughter, the old people used to teach us never to hurt the feelings of our relatives. If you hurt their feelings, you will cause your brothers-in-law to feel ashamed of themselves. Do not ever wish for any other man but your husband. It is enough to have one husband. Do not let anyone have the right to call you a prostitute. 602 606 837

Do not hit your relatives at any time. For if you did that or if you were on bad terms with one of them, it may chance that he will die, and then the people will say that you are glad that he is dead. Then, indeed, you will feel sad at heart and you will think to yourself, "What can I best do" (to make up for my conduct). Even if you were to give a Medicine Dance in his honor or donate gifts for the Four Nights' Wake, many people will still say, "She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him. Why does she act this way? She is wasting her wealth. (She really does not love him and therefore), and she ought not to spend so much money upon him now." Then, indeed, my daughter, will your heart ache; then, indeed, will you get angry. That is why the old people would tell their children to love one another. If you love a person and that person dies, then you will have a right to mourn for him, and everyone will think that your mourning is sincere. Not only will your own relatives love you, but everyone else will love you likewise. If, then, in the course of your life you 867 602 765

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867 602 come to a crisis of some kind, all these people will turn their hearts toward you.

My daughter, all that I am trying to tell you relates to your behavior (when you grow up). In your own home the women all understand the work belonging to the household and that relating to camping and hunting. If you understand these and afterwards visit your husband's relatives, you will know what to do and not find yourself in a dilemma from which you can not extricate yourself. When you visit your husband's people do not go around with a haughty air or act as if you considered yourself far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you, they will place you in charge of the camp you happen to be visiting. If you are good-natured, you will be placed in charge of the home at which you [606] happen to be visiting. Then your parents-in-law will tell your husband that their daughter-in-law is acting nicely to them.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION TO CHILDREN

867 Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: I still keep up the old system of teaching my children at the camp fire. In the morning I wake them up early and start to teach them as follows:

My children, as you travel along life's road never harm anyone, nor cause anyone to feel sad. On the contrary, if at any time you can make a person happy, do so. If at any time you meet a woman in the wilderness (i. e., away from your village), and if you are alone and no one can see you, do not scare her or harm her, but turn off to the right and let her pass. Then you will be less tempted to molest her.

My children, if you meet anyone on the road, even though it is only a child, speak a cheering word before you pass on. Fast as much as you can, so that when you grow up you can benefit your fellowmen. If you ever get married you must not sit around your [602] lodge near your wife, but try and get game for your wife's people. So fast that you may be prepared for your life.

[593] My daughters, if at any time you get married, never let your husband ask for a thing twice. Do it as soon as he asks you. If your husband's folks ever ask their children for something when you are present, assume that they had asked it of you. If there is anything to be done, do not wait till you are asked to do it, but do it immediately. If you act in this way, then they will say that your parents taught you well.

My son, if you find nothing else to do, take an ax and chop down a tree. It will become useful some day. Then take a gun and go out hunting and try to get game for your family.

As soon as I see that the children are showing signs of restlessness then I stop immediately.

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614 173 539 [431] nated, they have heretofore told one another thus. This it is. Whenever one asked about it, they would tell him, but they would never tell him unless he brought some present. Even when they had a child whom they loved very much (and for whom they were accustomed to do everything), even to such a one they would not tell it unless he brought them gifts. Thus they would not even say the least thing about the story of their origin merely because they loved some one. It is really essential to make a gift. And if some one came, carrying a gift, the old man would ask him what he wanted and what he would like to know, as this was not the only thing gifts were made for. Then he would announce his desire. However, he would not be told in public but when he was alone. Then the old man who had the right to tell the origin myth would announce subsequently at some feast that he had told so-and-so the story of the origin of their clan and that if anyone wished to be told of the same he should in the future, when he himself had died, go to this [867] young man and ask him in the proper way. Remember, he would add, that before everything else it is the duty of an individual to try and learn of the origin of his clan.

"Father,[a] this I give you, a full suit of clothes. This I am giving you." "Thanks, my son. What do you wish? What do you wish to hear?" "Father, what did we originate from?" "My son, you have done well. My son, he who makes the most gifts obtains life therewith." "Well, then, father, you need not tell me now, but later, when I have made a sufficient number of gifts, then you may tell me." "My son, you have spoken well and if you do as you say, you will travel unharmed along the road of life." "Father, these also I give you, some beads and a blanket." "Thanks, my son, it is good. Now, my son, what I told you was true. I did not tell it to you because I coveted anything of yours, but truly because it is true—this, that we must make a sufficient number of presents. [431] Whoever does as you have done will obtain the possibility of a good life for himself." "Now again, father, I give you these gifts. There is enough food for you in it." "My son, you have done well, very well indeed, for the life that I am to give you is holy; and as you know, even if one was loved very much they would not tell him this merely because they loved him, as it is holy." "Father, this I give you as a gift, a horse, as I desire to know what we originated from." "Now, then, my son, you have done well. This is what I meant when I said it is holy. Therefore, my son, you have done well. Come and sit down here. Listen very carefully so that if afterwards anyone should ask you for this story you will be able to tell it well."

[a] He is now proceeding to give the dialogue that ensued between the old man and himself when he brought the presents.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (*de cicik*).* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

614 533

Song 1

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

Song 2

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

Song 3

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [783] [276]

* The name *de cicik* is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

CLAN NAMES

TCE HIE'IE'ARAIJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551
Moratcega.....He who travels the land.
Tcanimaniwinga.....She who walks ahead.
Tceninksiga..... Suckling buffalo calf.
Tcega.....Buffalo.
Tcep'anu"pga.....Two buffalo heads.
Tcetcu"iwinga.....First buffalo.
Tceslojenink'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Tcesdonink'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Tcewinxedega.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanaga.....He who is in control.
Hohekmaniga?.....Shaggy walker.
Tcehatcowinga.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangikuntega.....Shakes the earth by striking
Tcep'aga.....Buffalo head.
Manok'azuhiga.....Kicking up the earth

THE DEER CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[202] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[532] The dog names obtained were *vankcipohoniga* and *na"natcgiga*.

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CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

Introduction

We know that in all religions there are two factors to be considered—a specific feeling and certain beliefs, conceptions, customs, and acts associated with that feeling; that the belief most inextricably connected with that religious feeling is the one in spirits more powerful than man and controlling everything in life which he values. 771

The beliefs themselves play an important part with all people, but the importance of the specific feeling varies with each individual. A perusal of the fasting experiences (see pp. 293–308) will make this quite clear. It is because we do not separate the actions and testimony of the religious man from that of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man that most presentations of the subject are so confused and vague. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain the real attitude of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man, because it is the religious individual and leader who gives form to the expressions which religion assumes in ceremony and prayer. Yet we must recognize that there is a difference and that it is often this difference that accounts for certain contradictions in the information obtained. The one place where it is possible, at least among the Winnebago, to obtain some idea of the emotional make-up and attitude of the intermittently religious man, is the fasting ordeal, and from a comparison of those experiences it is quite clear that a sufficiently large number of people were not able to obtain that thrill which they had been taught to expect. It is also clear that the shamans and religious leaders recognized this fact and provided for it by advising such people to buy the requisite protection against the trials and misfortunes of life, or as they put it, "the crises or narrow places of life." Such a person would certainly not be regarded as one of the leaders of the tribe. [787]

The ideal that the parent held before the eyes of his children is quite eloquently put in the system of instructions (see p. 166). 867 787

> My son, when you grow up, you should try to be of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is to fast . . . If you thirst to death, the spirits who are in control of wars will bless you . . . But, my son, if you do not fast repeatedly it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon your-

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867
787 self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e. rivers), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

771 Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

224
796 Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *wunɔ'ɛcʼre* ceremony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *wunɔ'ɛcʼre* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

726
787 Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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above far down to his camp. That far it would reach. "Only thus, Wegi'ceka, can you see me. What you ask of me (to see me face to face) I can not grant you. But, nevertheless, you may tell (your fellowmen) that you saw me." Thus he spoke to him. He did not bless him with war powers. Only with life did he bless him. 776 787 539

Then Wegi'ceka tried to draw a picture of the flash of light extending from the heavens to his camp, just as he had seen it, upon a cane. To that cane he sacrificed. The descendants of Wegi'ceka are using cane even to the present day.

ACCOUNT OF J.'S FASTING

When I reached the age of puberty my father called me aside and told me to fast. He told me that it was his fervent wish that I should begin to fast, so that I might become holy and invincible and invulnerable in war. I would become like one of those Winnebagoes of whom stories are told. In future generations the people would speak of me often. For these reasons he wished me to fast. He assured me that if I fasted I would really be holy and that nothing on this earth would be able to harm me. I would also live a very long life, he told me. I would be able to treat the sick and cure them. That holy I would be, he told me. If I acted in this way, my father told me, no person would dare to make fun of me and they would always be careful of the manner in which they addressed me, both because they respected me and because they were afraid of incurring my enmity. For these reasons my father counseled me to fast and to continue fasting from the late fall until spring. During that time I should fast without stopping. In the spring, however, I was to stop, because many bad spirits are about at that time and they might deceive me. If he thought that I was not doing enough fasting he would urge me on with words, saying, "My son, fast, because if you receive knowledge of anything (i. e., if you have been blessed repeatedly), nothing will be able to harm you. You will live long; and I want you to live long." In this way my father used to speak to me and in this way he used to plead with me in a piteous manner. "Remember," he used to say to me repeatedly, "that if you do not fast none of the spirits will bless you." 159 787 867

There was a hill near our place called the Place-where-they-keep-weapons. This hill was very high and it looked steep and rocky. It must have been a very holy place. There my father had lived (when he was blessed by the spirits). Within this hill lived the spirits that we call Those-who-cry-like-babies.[9] These spirits were supposed to have arrows and bows. There were supposed to be twenty of them in this hill. My father had control of these spirits. 159 787 776

[9] These spirits are the same as those generally known as the Hawk's, or Those-whose-Heart-burns.

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
● 867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-say-like-babies.

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796 (*a*) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, *b*), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(*b*) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (*c*) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(*d*) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(*e*) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
● [867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

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Even if a feaster gets satiated, he must continue to eat until everything is finished. They tell one another that it is not good for any one to fail (and leave any food). Whatever food there is they must finish it all. All that is cooked must they eat.

Continuation of the Basic Ritual

Then the one who was called upon for the first kettle thanked them and said:

Speech of first guest.—"Councilors [168] and relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. As many war-bundle owners as are seated here, I greet you all. The councilors of the clans have enjoined upon us earnestly to offer up sincere prayers to all the different spirits who are seated here (in the persons of the guests). It is good that our war-bundle owners offer up prayers in this way. It is for this reason that we are still living. Some of us can not accomplish much in that line and that is why so many of us are gone already (i. e., are dead). This ritual was made for one who is the very greatest of all the spirits, for whom they have offered tobacco and food and offerings of buckskin. Thus they have done. Earthmaker, who dwells above, they have asked for war power and life. Indeed, how would it be possible for (the spirits) not to take cognizance and accept (these offerings)." [169] If we follow the preaching (of our host), life (we will obtain); life we will feel ourselves in connection with through the holy food that they (the host and the members of his band) have offered up. We have (had the honor too) of impersonating the spirits, I and my relatives. The meal likewise was excellent. It is good that they have brought us in connection with so much life and it is to thank them that I am saying this. That one of their ancestors whom they called grandfather (and whose place I am taking) was not one to speak foolishly, it is said, and still his place they thought of for me (unworthy as I am). They have given me (the part) of a councilor of their own clan and (the privilege) of impersonating a spirit. It is good. Earthmaker they have prayed to.

I greet him. To the enjoiner (host) I send my greetings; to all the war-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings.

Then the second one who was called upon for a kettle gets ready to thank them and says:

Speech of second guest.—"Host and relatives, as many as are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners that

[168] The word means, literally, "enjoiners" and refers to the injunctions and instructions the elder people give to the young.

[169] I. e., the offerings are so wonderful that the spirits would have to be blind not to see them. This and the following sentences are formulae compliments always paid to the host by the invited guests.

§7. *The Teachings of My Father*

My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake us up early in the morning and, seated around the fireplace, speak to us. The girls would be taught separately. Now this is what my father told me:

I

My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings. Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs,[14] bless you. See to it that they have compassion upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles. Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

[14] Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

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inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you.

My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,[18] your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dance! Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy.

Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to

[18] Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first.

Crashing Thunder

701 Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to
* 159 be a leader of men. To become one, however, is very
● 867 difficult, the old people used to say. It may happen that
787 you merely pretend to be a leader of men, that you are but
a mere warrior in the ranks and yet take it upon your elf to
[686] lead a war-party and thus cause a needless waste of life,
that you do what is called "throwing away a life." That
is the most shameful of all acts. The relatives of the person
[627] whom you have thus sacrificed would then have the right
to make you suffer, to torture you with burning embers.
And then your relatives would have to stand by, sad and
humiliated. Not with the blessing of one, not with the
blessings of twenty spirits, can you go on the warpath.
* 159 For that the blessings of all the spirits are necessary—those
867 on this earth, those under it and those who lie pinned
776 through it, the Island Weights; those in the waters and
787 those on the side of the earth, the winds, all four of them.
You need the blessings of the spirit who dispenses life from
one side of his body and death from the other, the bless-
ings of the Sun, the Moon, the Daylight, and the Earth.
All these Earthmaker has made controllers of war and by
787 all these must you be blessed in order to lead a war-party.
* 159 My son, if you cast off your dress for many people, that
867 is, if you give to the needy, your people will be benefited
[135] by your deeds. It is good thus to be honored by many
people. And even more will they honor you if you return
[554] victorious from the warpath with one of the four limbs, that
is, one of the four war honors. But if you obtain two, or
three, or perhaps even four limbs, then all the greater will
be the honor. Then whenever a war feast is given you will
receive part of the deer that is boiled, either part of its
000 body or part of the head.[18] When on some other occasion,

[18] The meat of a deer at such a feast is given only to great warriors. The head is regarded as the choicest piece.

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such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

II

My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married you will get along well. You will then not have to worry about your having children and your life will be a happy one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown.

* 159 you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food
● 86 you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these
785 things then some day when your children ask for food they
787 will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

* 159 Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse
86 your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife
593 suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother
[562] Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing
[776] her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

*159 When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters
867 your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little
574 you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner
[577] you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said.

*159 If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have
867 anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him
588 there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.[18] You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with
[578] him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[574] [18] It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire any-
[576] thing in the house he is visiting.

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ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen.

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all these he created and placed in control of powers. Even the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

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ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you. If then you happen to be without work, all that you need for your support they will give you. For as long a time as you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some power from those individuals who know the virtues and powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed by the waterspirits.[19] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[19] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

The Teachings of My Father

Search there and you will undoubtedly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you ooo

Crashing Thunder

Say you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
787 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
789 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
867 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and
• utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then you will never be in want of riches. People will give you their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
[776] blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy. People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit. Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them on us.

*159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
780 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
754 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to prevent married people from separating; medicines for getting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy. Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for this medicine will make her fall in love with every man she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are put to watch over women; others again have medicines that make people single out the possessor in a crowd. Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

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The Teachings of My Father

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take place. In short there are medicines for everything.

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm.

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured.

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

helped will then really know what kind of a man you are. For the good you do people will love you.

It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago preach to a child we love so that it should never become acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does anything wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the consequences of his actions.

III

My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as time goes on. This is what the old people used to say. They always preached against those men who hearken too strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of women. Now it may happen that a man has received many warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is asked to attend a war-bundle feast [20] he will refuse to go; it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[20] The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winnebago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan. The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

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of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole world will hear about it. No other woman will want to marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

Now you may act in the following way: You see people starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go, however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

These are the things of which the old people spoke and this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

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knowing what is the right thing to do. Ask for this instruction, my son. It is not a matter requiring a few moments; it is something that must be thoroughly learned. You, too, must learn it.

To a girl the following was told:

My daughter, as you travel along the path of life, listen to your parents. Do not let your mother work. Attend to the wants of your father. All the work in the house belongs to you. Do not shirk it. Chop wood, pack it; look after the gardens; gather the vegetables and cook them. When you come back to the village in the spring, plant your fields immediately. Never get lazy, for Earthmaker created you to do these things.

My daughter, when you get your menses, do not ask those in the house to give you any food. Fast and do not eat until you get back to the family lodge. If you act thus, you will be fasting for your seat, for your position in life. You can only keep this seat by fasting. Then when you marry, even if your husband has been a good-for-nothing before, he will become a good hunter. You will have accomplished this for him. You will not fail in anything and you will be happy and contented. If, on the contrary, you do not do as I tell you, then when you marry, you will weaken your husband. After a while he will become sickly and it will be your fault.

It is not good to use medicine. If you marry a man and place medicine upon his head, you will weaken him and he will not amount to anything. It may happen that you do not want your husband to leave you and that after reflecting on the matter, you place some medicine on his head, to prevent him from leaving you. This is not good. You

867 593 832 will be ruining a man. It is equivalent to killing him. Do not do it. It is forbidden. If you marry a man and want to live with him permanently, work for him in order to hold him. When you marry a man, listen to what he says. If you do your work properly and the man likes you, he will never leave you. By working for him must you make your husband love you. Now remember it is not good to use medicines on him. At least before you are fairly mature in years do not use any, for you will thereby merely weaken yourself and your life will be of no consequence. Indeed you may cause the medicine to work on yourself and then become demented in consequence.

867 581 [626] Marry only one man at a time. Be good and virtuous in your married life. If you do not listen to what I am telling you, you will become bad and men will make fun of you. They will do whatever they wish with you; joke with you familiarly on any subject. If you do not listen to me you will injure yourself. Thus did the old people speak to one another and thus did they hand down these 867 precepts from one generation to another, warning young girls against committing wrong actions. They also said that when a girl is growing up, one should admonish her and that is why I am now speaking to you.

867 584 [683] As you grow older, when you get to be a young woman, the men will begin to court you. Never hit a man. It is forbidden. If you dislike a man very much tell him to go away gently. If instead, you hit him, remember that frequently [754] young men possess certain injurious medicines which they may use against you. Even if a particular person does not possess them, he knows where to get them. Then this man whom you have humiliated, will use it and transform you from a chaste and nice woman to a loose one, to a harlot. That is why the old people used to warn

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the young girls not to maltreat a man. Hope with all your heart that you do not fall into such a predicament. I really mean what I say. 867 584

Do not be haughty with your husband. Do whatever he says. Kindness will be returned to you and he will treat you in the same way as you treat him. 867 593

If you have a child and it is naughty, do not strike it. In olden times when a child was naughty, the parents did not strike it, but instead made the child fast. Then when he is quite hungry he will reflect upon his disobedience. If you hit the child you will merely be putting more naughtiness in him. It has also been said that mothers should not lecture their children, that they merely make them bad by admonishing them. If your husband scolds them, do not take their part for then they will become bad indeed. If a stranger makes your children cry, do not speak to the stranger in your children's presence and take their part, If you wish to take the children's part, prevent such a thing from happening and keep your children home, and there at home, take good care of them and think of the best means of letting your children get to know you. When you are bringing up children, do not imagine you are taking their part if you just speak about loving them. Let them see it for themselves. Let them see what love is by observing you give things away to the poor. Then they will see your good deeds and then they will know whether you have been speaking the truth or not. 867 [861] 593 858 [935]

Do not show your love for other children so that other people notice it. Love them but let your love for them be different from your love for your own. The children of other people are different from your own and if they were to be taken to some other place they would become estranged from you; they would no longer belong to you.

867 593 858 You can, however, always depend upon the love of your own children because they are of your own body. Love them therefore.

867 593 If you do not have any real interest in your husband's welfare and affairs, then you will be to him like any other woman. People will ridicule you. On the other hand, if you pay more attention to your husband than to your parents, if you listen to him more than to them, that will be equivalent to deserting them. Let your husband keep your parents and take good care of them for they depend upon him. Your parents saw to it that you married him and [583] they expect you to make some return for this as well as for the fact that they raised you.

867 [602] Do not hurt the feelings of your relatives, the old people used to say. If you hurt their feelings you will make your brothers-in-law feel ashamed of themselves on account of the evil things you say about them.

[837] Never desire to have any other man than your husband when you are married. Have only one husband. Do not give any one the right to call you a prostitute.

867 602 The old people said, "Never hit your relatives." You may be on bad terms with one of them, for instance, and he may die. Then people will say that you used to quarrel with the deceased when he was alive. They may even claim that you are overjoyed at his death, that you want to dance with joy. Then indeed will your heart be sore and you will think to yourself how best you can make amends. Even should you have a performance of the Medicine Dance given in his honor, if you wish to bury him with honor, even then people will say, "What does all this mean? She used to be partial and jealous when he was alive. Now that he is dead she loves him! She should not do such things. She is merely wasting her wealth. She need

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not have spent so much." Thus will people speak of you. 867 602
Then indeed will your heart ache to its very depths. Perhaps you will even get angry when people say these things to you. It is to prevent this from happening that the old people used to say, "Love one another." If you have always loved a person then when he dies you will have the right to feel sorry. All your relatives will love you; indeed every one will love you. If you behave like a true woman you will be beloved by all and then if you meet with some crisis in life, all will turn their hearts to you in your trouble.

It will be good for you if you conduct yourself in the way I have just told you. That is what I wish you to do. In your own home you have doubtless been instructed in all the domestic work, your part in hunting, and in the work around the camp. If you learn about all these matters then some day when you visit your husband's relatives you will not find yourself in an embarrassing position from which you cannot extricate yourself. When you are visiting your husband's people do not walk around in a haughty [602] manner. Do not act as if you were far above them. Try to get them to like you. If they like you they will put you in charge of their camp.

Never think a home is yours unless you make one yourself. If you are living with people and have put them in charge of your household, do not behave as though the home were still yours.

[P. 73]

§22. *We Kill a Pottawattomie*

*159 588 837 I never married any woman permanently. I would live with one for awhile, and then with another. Sometimes upon my return after an absence I would find my temporary wife living with another man. This is the way in which I acted.

*159 787 721 My father had brought me up and had encouraged me to fast, so that I might be blessed by all the spirits that exist, and thus live in comfort. My father had raised me so that I should desire to obtain war honors,[55] so that I should not be like one who wears skirts. That was the reason he had me join the Medicine Dance so [624] that people should not be able to ridicule me. My father taught me to lead a sober and sane life and my ● [867] grandfather, during the time I lived with him, had told me the same. They both encouraged me to give feasts and to ask the spirits for war honors.

*159 721 At that time I had a comrade, and one day he said to me, "We have been thinking of something, have we not, friend? We ought to try and obtain some external emblem of our bravery. Do we not always try to wear feathers at a Warrior Dance? Well, then, let us try

[554] [55] These war honors were the following: touching the body of a slain enemy first, killing an enemy, touching the body second, touching it third, stealing a horse. All of them entitled the possessor [301] to wear an eagle feather in his hair.